

A SHORT  
VIEWV OF THE  
Long Life and Raigne of  
HENRY the Third, King  
of ENGLAND.

Presented to King IAMES. by

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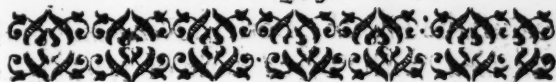
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*Henricus III D. G. Rex Ang:  
Dux Aquit: etc Dom: Hib:*

*v. 42*





## A Short view of the long Raigne of *Henry the third.*

Wearied with the lingring calamities of Ciuill Armes, and afrighted at the sudden fall of a licentious Soueraigne, all men stood at gaze expecting the euent of their long desires (Peace) and issue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in euery shift of Princes there are few either so meane or modest that please not themselues with some probable object of preferment. To satisfie all, a child ascendeth the throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose Innocency and naturall goodnesse led him safe along the various daungers of his fathers Raigne: Happy was hee in his Vnkle the Earle of Pembroke, the guide of his infancy, and no lesse then for thirty yeares after whilst *De Burgo*, that fast seruant of his Fathers a

Hist. minor  
Math. l'aris.

a ij                      gainst



gainst the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England* with *Bygod Earle of Norffolke* and others of like grauity and experience did manage the Affaires. Few and no other were the distempers then in State, but such as are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobility of Rule, and but one violent storme raised by some olde and constant followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent de Fortibus* and others, men that could onely thriue by the warres, misliking those dayes of sloath: (for so they termed that calme of King *Henries* gouernement;) and the rather because the Iustice of quiet times vreged from them to the lawfull owners, such Lands and Castles as the fury of war had vniustly giuen them, for finding in the vprightnesse of the King, that power of protection should not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that with it, ended their liues and competitors, professing that those their swords that had set the Crown vpon their Soueraignes head!

Math. Paris  
Hist. maior.

Hist. Sancti.  
Albani.

head, when neither Maieftie nor Lawe could, ſhould now ſecure thoſe ſmall pittances to their Maiſters, when Maieſty or Lawe would not. Dangerous are too great benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of meritt, nothing of duty. No other diſquiet did the State after this feele, but ſuch as is incident in all, the malice to Authority: Good and great men may ſecure themſelves from guilt, but not from enuy: for the greateſt in truſt of publicke affaires are ſtill ſhot at by the aspiring of thoſe that deeme themſelves leſſe in employment then they are in merit. Theſe vapours did euer and eaſily vaniſh ſo long as the helme was guided by temperate ſpirits, and the King tied his Actions to the rule of good Counſell, and not to young paſſionate or ſingle aduiſe.

Thirty yeares now paſſed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *de Bur-* Chro. de Dunſt.  
Ioan. de VVal-  
lingford.  
*go*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whoſe length

of dayes giuing him the aduantage of sole power, his owne Ambition and Age gaue him desire, and Art, to keepe out others, which wrought him into the fatal enuy of most, and that encreased in the Title of Earle, & great Offices the King then gaue him. *Time* by this, had wrought, as in it selfe, so in the hearts of the people, a Reuolution, the afflictions of their fathers forgotten, and the surfeit of long peace; perchance hauing let in some abuses, from hence, the Commons to whom dayes present seeme euer worst, commend the foregone ages they neuer remembred, and condemne the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedy.

Chro. de Litchfield.

To these idle and vsuall humors, fell in some of the young and noble spirits, warme and over-weaning (who being as truly ignorant as the rest) first by sullyng the wisdom of the present and greatest rulers, (making each casuall mishap their Errors:) seeme to decypher every  
ble.

blemish in Gouernment, and then by holding certaine imaginary and fantasticke formes of Common wealths, flatter their owne beleefe and ability, that they can mould any State, to these generall rules, which in particular application will proue idle and grosse absurdities.

Next confirmed in their owne worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, they take it a *Gual. de Couen* fit time to worke themselves into action, and imployment, a thing they had long desired, and now (though vnwilling to seeme so) doe sue for, and doubtlesse the furthest of their ayme was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had beene then helde fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earle, That *Consilia senum hastas iuuenum esse*; and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled) were *Non audis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*, fitter in being factious to disorder, then to settle affayres, cyther denyed or delayed their desires; for wise Princes will ever chooseth their Instruments *Parnegotijs*, and  
not

not *supra*, Creatures out of meere election, that are onely theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

Math. Paris.  
Hist. minor.

Amongst this vnequal medly, there were of the Nobility, *Richard Earle of Pembroke, Gloucester, and Hartford*, darlings of the multitude; some for the merrit of their Fathers, whose memories they held Sacred, as Pillars of publike liberty and opposers of encroaching Monarchy: at *Ranemede* the Armies met. And of the

Gron. Petri Pe-  
tavian.

Gentry, *Fitz-Geffeory, Bardolph, Grisley, Maunfell and Fitz-Iohn*, spirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant spleene, as the places from whence they were elected Campe, Court, or Countrey, could affoord any: These by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the Earle of *Kent*, they had small hope of their desires, they made often meetings; and as one sayth of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut*

Math Paris.

*secretum*

*flexam in vesperum die.*

In the end, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were farre in opinion with the rest, Gentle-men, by Forraine education and imployment, more quallified then vsually men of these Times; and that set vppon their owne deserts, the best places, when the Streame should turne, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did vnworthily obtayne, for he dyed in actuall Rebellion, *Iusticiarius Anglie*, against his master) advised that the best meanes to remooue that great and good obstackle, the Earle of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by sisting into his actions, and siding with his opposite, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worthiest beeing driuen out by the worst, they shall eyther be able to mate him with his owne vice, which will beeeuer more visible, as hee is more potent, and so remooue him at pleasure; or else giue over the King to such Ministers, to their bad

bj

desires

Cicero in Cattan-  
line Orat. prima.

desires; as loosing him the hearts of his people, might smoothe them away to their bad desires, *Honores quos quieta Republica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.* This Counsell heard, approoved and put in practise, the corrupt and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, by mony and opinion, of encrease of power.

Lib. Bermondsey  
Vita abbatis sancti  
alibani.

Articles are in all hast forged, and vrged against the Earle, as sale of Crowne land; wast of the Kings Treasure; and lastly, (that which these doubtfull times held capitall) his giuing allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the Soueraigne and the Subiects, as hee had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his nonage, and enforced the subject to pay as the Record sayth, *Non iuxta singulorum facultatem, sed quicquid iusticiarius estimabat.*

Lib. Bermondsey  
Vita abbatis sancti  
alibani.

Well? hee cleared himselfe of all, but the last, and did worthily perish by it; for

for ~~arts~~ that fill Princes Coffers, are euer the ruines of their first Inventors; bad times corrupt good Councells, and make the best Ministers, yeelde to the lust of Princes, therefore this King cannot passe blamelesse, that would so easily blemish all former meritts, of so good a seruant, for that wherein himselfe was chiefe in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and sooner cloyd then others, more transitory their fauours; and as their mindes are large, so they easily ouer looke their first election; tying their affections, no further then their owne satisfactions.

The Bishop now alone manageth the State, chooseth his chiefe Instrument, *Peter De Riualis*, a man like himselfe, displaceth the natiues, and draweth *Po-istons* and *Brittons* into Offices of best trust, and benefite; and the King into an euill opinion of his people. For nothing is more against the nature of the English, then to haue strangers rule over them, of



this mans time, *Wendouer*, an Authorthen  
 living, sayth, *Iuditia committuntur injustis,*  
*Leges ex-legibus, Pax discordantibus, iusti-*  
*tia iniuriosis.* Thus the plot of the  
 tumultuous Barons went cleare, and  
 had not the discreeter Bishops calmed all  
 by dutifull perswasions, and informing  
 the King that the support of this bold  
 mans power (whose carriage before had  
 lost his Father, *Normandy*, the loue of his  
 people, and in that his Crowne) would  
 by teaching the sonne to reject in passion  
 the just petitions of his loyall Subjects,  
 (as of late the Earle of *Pembroke* his Earle  
 Marshall of *England* the due of his Office)  
 driue all the State into discontent by his  
 bad advise, and corrupt manners; doubt-  
 lesse the rebellious Lords had ended this  
 distemper, as their designe was, in a ciuil  
 Warre.

Regis Roffen.

Annals de Ely.

Denials from Princes must bee supply-  
 ed with gracious vsage, that though they  
 cure not the sore, yet they may abate the  
 sence of it; but best it is, that all fauours  
 come

come directly from themselves; denials and things of bitterness from their Ministers.

Thus are the strangers all displaced and banished, *Riualis* extortions ransackt, by many strict Commissions of enquiry; the Bishop sent away disgraced, finds now that *Nullaqua sita scelere potentia diuturna*; and that in Princes favours there is no substance betweene the highest of all, and precipitation. The Lords still frustrate of their malicious ends, beganne to sow of these late grounds of the peoples discontent, *Querelas & ambiguos de principe sermones & quæq; alia turbamenta vulgi*, and tooke it vp a fashion to endear and glorifiethemselues with the sencelesse multitude, by depraving the Kings discretion, and Governement, whose nature too gentle for such insolent spirits, was forced (as *Treuet sayth*) to seeke as he presently did, advise and loue amongst strangers, seeing no desert could purchase it at home, all bore themselues like Tutors and Con-

Claus. anno 37  
H. 7. M. 26.  
Chren. Hall,

trollers, few like subjects and Councellours. God wee see holdeth the hearts of Princes, and sendeth them such Councellors as the quality of the subject meriteth.

Chron. Litchf.

For *Mountford* a *French-man* became the next Object of the Kings Delight, a Gentle-man of choyce blood, education, and feature, on this mans content, the heady affection of the Sovereigne did so much Doate, that at his first entrance of Grace, in enuy of the Nobility, hee made him Earle of *Leicester*; and in no lesse offence of the Cleargy, by violating the rites of the holy Church, gaue him his vowed, vailed, sister to wife. More of Arte then vsuall some haue deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependancy, the strength of his assurance, so both at his will.

Math. Paris.

Roger VVen-  
douer

Chron. roan.  
Sulgrauc.

*Mountford* made wanton thus with dalliance of his Maister, forgetteth moderation, for seldome discretion in youth attendeth great and suddaine fortunes, hee draweth all publike affayres into his owne hands

hands, all fauours must passe from him, all preferments by him, all suites addres-  
sed to him, the King but as a cypher set  
to adde to this figure, the more of number.  
Great is the Soueraignes error, when the  
hope of subiects must recognize it selfe  
bee-holden to the seruant, which ought  
immediately to bee acknowledged, from  
the goodnesse and good election of him-  
selfe: Though Princes may take aboue  
others some reposefull friend, with whom  
they may participate their neereft passions;  
yet ought they so to temper the affayres of  
their fauour, that they corrupt not the  
effects of their principallities.

At this the great and grauest men began  
to grieue, knowing the vnworthy with-  
out honour, or merrit, thus to deale a-  
lone in that which should passe through  
their hands, and to leape ouer all their  
heads, to the greatest Honour and Offices,  
and therefore runne along with the then  
rising grace of the Kings halfe brethren,  
(though strangers) hoping thereby to  
deuide

deuide that power, which otherwise they saw impossible to breake.

*Chron. Reading.*

*Leicester* confident of his Maisters loue, and impatient to beare cyther riual in fauour, or partner in rule, opposeth them all, but findeth in his ebbe of fauour, the Fortune of others, and that this King could euer as easily transserre his fancy as he had settled his affection. Great we see must be the arte and cunning of that man, that keepes himselfe a floate in the streame of Soueraignes fauour, since the change of Princes wils, which for the most part are ful of fancy and soone satiate are hardly arrested: Who so would effect this, must only attend the honour and service of his Maister, and dispoyled of all other respects, transforme himselfe into his inward inclination and worke into necessity of imployment, by vndergoing the Offices of most secrecy, cyther of publicke seruice, or princes pleasures, he must also beate downe Competitors of worth by the hands of others, conceale his owne  
greatness.

greatnes in publicke, with a fained humility, and what impotency or gouernment he affecteth, let it rather seeme the worke of others, out of conueniency, then any appetite of his owne.

Now were the raynes of rule, by this advantage, taken by the rebellious Lords, and put alone into the hands of the Kings halfe brethren: *Adam, Guido, Godfray, and William*, himselve as before; *Et magna Fortuna licentiam tantum vsurpans*: For to act his owne part, hee was ever wyer-drawne when hee had such worthy servants as would often for his Honour vrge it. For these Masters, (*as Wallingford termeth them*) *Tanta elati iactantia quod nec superiorem sibi intelligunt, nec parem mellitis & mollitis adulationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis a rationis tramite declinantes*, do alone what they list. They fill vp the place of Iustice and Trust, with their Country-men, strangers, exact of whom, how and what ~~they~~ they please, waste the Treasure and Crown Lands on themselues, and their followers,

Hen. Knighton  
Mon. Leicest.

*Wil. de Rishan-  
ger.*

*Lib. Monastery  
Ramsay.*

set prices on all offices, and rayne the Lawe within the rule of their owne Brests. The vsuall reply of their seruants, to the playnts of the Kings subjects, beeing *Quir tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult; quod Dominus meus vult*; these strangers seemed in their Lawlesse carriage not to haue bin inuited, but to haue entred the state by Conquest: The great men they enforced not to obey, but to serue, and the meane to liue so as they might justly say, they had nothing, yet least the King should heare the groanes of his people, and the wickednesse of his Ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they barre all such accesse: Suspition beeing the best preseruer of her owne deserts, aymeth at these, who hath more of vertue then themselues, as fearing them most. Thus is the incapacity of gouernement in a King, when it falls to bee prey to such Lawlesse Ministers, the ground of infinite corruption in all the members of the State, all take

take warrant generally from Princes weaknesse, of licentious liberty, and greatnesse makes profit particularly by it, and therefore giue way to encrease ill, to encrease their gaynes.

A Famine accompanieth these corruptions, and that so violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writes to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes mortuos sepeliendos famis media deficientes*: Famine proceedes, *Fames præcessit & secutus est gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis secure possit, provincias peruenire*: For all the Villages of the Kingdome were left a prey to the Lawlesse Multitude: Who *Per diuersas partes itinerantes velut per Consensum aliorum*, (as the Record sayth) did imply that the factious Lords suspected by the King, had giuen some heat to that commotion. Seditious Peeres bringing euer fewell to such popular fires.

Claus. anno 41  
Hen. 3.

Chron. London.

c 7

Neyther



*Wilde Rißanger.* Neyther was the Church without a busie part in this Tragick worke for *Walter* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Robert* of *Lincolne*, to whom *Mountford* and his faction, *Præcordialiter adherebant* were farre ingaged. In such designes, Church-men are neuer wanting, and the distaste of the present gouernement, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth,) will euer bee a knot of strength for such vnquiet spirits, who as well frame to themselues some other forme of gouernment; then the present in the Church, as in the temporall state, as that which with the giddy multitude winneth best opinion, and did at this time fitly suite the peoples humours, so much distasting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pompe, their greedines and the Popes extortions.

A fayre pretext was it to those factious Bishops, to vse their bitter pens and speeches, so farre agaynst Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence  
 of

of Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treason at home ; for hee enioyned the Earle of *Leicester* in *Remissione peccatorum ut causam illam* ( meaning his Rebellions ) *usque ad mortem assumeret, afferens pacem Ecclesie Anglicanae numquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari.* It was not the best Doctrine that this man could plant, by liberty or warre when the first Church rose by fasting and prayer.

Math. Paris.

WildeRisshanger.

True Piety binds the Subiect to desire a good Sovereigne, but to beare with a bad one, and to take vp the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time so to deserue abatement, then resist authority.

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to leade vs in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our owne duties; in difficult poynts of Religion, where an humble ignorance, is a safe and secure knowledge, wee may relye vpon them.

To suppress these troubles, and supply

Barth. Colon.

Chro. Norwic.

Chro. Worc.

the kings extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to releue the King as they did to acquiet the State, their ende at that time beeing onely to open at home the pouerty of their Maister, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to braue out their owne passions freely, whilst those times of liberty permit.

M. Paru.

Wendover.

Here they began to tell him hee had wronged the publicke State in taking to his priuate election the Iustice, Chancelour and Treasurer, that should bee onely by the Common Councell of the Reälme, commending much the Bishop of *Chichester* for denying deliuey of the great Seale but in Parliament where hee receiued it.

Wallingford.

Paris.

They blame him to haue bestowed the best places of trust and benefit in his gift on strangers, and to leaue the *English* unrewarded, to haue vndone the trade of  
Mer-

Merchants by bringing in Maletosts and  
 heauy customes, and to haue hurt the  
 common liberty by *non obstantes* in his Pa<sup>ger.</sup> *Wil. de Rishan-*  
 tents, to make good Monopolies for pri-  
 uate fauorites.

That he hath taken from his Subiects  
*quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculen-*  
*tis. Rusticorum enim equos, bigas, vina, victua-* *Chron. Sancti*  
*lia ad libitum cepit.* *Albani.*

That his Iudges were sent in Circuits  
 vnder pretext of Iustice to fleece the peo-  
 ple, *Causis fictitijs quoscunque poterant diri-*  
*puerunt.*

And that Sir Robert de Purslowe had  
 wrung from the Borderers of his Forrest  
 vnder pretence of encrochments or assarts,  
 great summes of money.

And therefore they wonder that  
 he should now demaund reliefe from his  
 so pilled and polled Commons, who by  
 their former extremities & *per auxilia* *Qual. de Co-*  
*uentry.*  
*prius data ita depauperantur vt nihil aut*  
*parum habeant in bonis.* And therefore adui-  
 sed

*Wil. de Rishanger*

*Chron. Litch.*

*Hist. minor  
Wil. de Rishanger*

*Epist. Robert  
Lincolne.*

*Math. Paris.*

sed him, that since his needlesse expence,  
*Postquam regni cepit esse dilapidator*, was  
 summed vp by them to aboue 800000 l.  
 It were fitting to pull from his fauourites,  
 who had gleaned the Treasure of his  
 Kingdome, and shared the olde Lands of  
 the Crowne, seeing one of them there  
 whom the Lords described to bee *Miles lit-*  
*teratus*, or *Clericus militaris*, who had in  
 short space from the inheritance of an acre,  
 growne to the Possession of an Earledom;  
 and *Mansel* another inferiour Cleark that  
 (besides 50. promotions with the cure of  
 soules) rose to dispend in annuall reuenue  
 4000 marks, whereas more moderate Fees  
 would haue become a pen-man, no better  
 quallified then with the ordinary fruits of  
 a Writing Schoole; yet if a moderate sup-  
 ply would suite with the Kings occasions,  
 they were content to performe so farre re-  
 liefe in Obedience, as the desert of his  
 carriage should meritt toward them: And  
 so as the Record sayth, *Dies datus fuit in*  
*tris septimanas ut interim Rex excessuos*  
*suos*

*suos corrigeret, & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.*

At which day vppon new grant of the great Charter, admittance to his Council of some persons elected by the Commons, and promise to relye vppon his Natiues, and not Strangers; for advise hereafter; they spare him such a pittance as must tye him to their Devotion, for a new supply.

*Math. Paris.*

*Regis Rossen.*

*Joan. de VV. lingford.*

Thus Parliaments that before were euer a medicine to heale vp any rupture in Princes fortunes, are now growne worse then the mallady, fith from thence more mallignant humors beganne to raigne in them, then well composed tempers.

The King by this, experienced of the intents of his rebellious Lords, and finding that the want of Treasure was the way whereby they enthralled his Maiesty, begins now to play the good husband, closeth his hand of wast, and resolues himselfe (too late) to stand alone; such experience is pernicious to the priuate, and

*Chron. de Leicester.*

dangerous to the publique good of a state, when it neuer learns to doe, but by vndoing, and neuer sees order, but when disorder shewes it. Yet still alas, such was his flexibillity when hee came to bee pressed by his *French* Minions, that hee could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaste desires, and endlesse waste. So that an Author then liuing, sayth, it became a by word, *our Inheritance is conuerted to Alliens, and our Houses to Strangers.* Followers to a King excessiue in gifts, are excessiue in demaunds, and cut them not out by reason, but by example: Fauours past are not accompted, wee loue no bounty but what is meerely future, the more that a Prince weakeneth himselfe in giuing, the poorer he is of friends: For such prodigallity in a Soueraigne, euer ends in the rapine and spoyle of his subjects.

Yet before the King would agayne submit himselfe, as hee had the last Parliament, so somany braues and strict in-  
quiries

quiries of his disloyall subiects, he meane-  
 neth to passe through all the shifts, that  
 extremitie of neede, with greatnesse of  
 minde could lay vppon him. He begin-  
 neth first with sale of Lands, and then  
 of Iewells, pawneth *Gascoyne*, and after  
 that, his Imperiall Crowne; and when  
 hee had neyther credit to borrow, (ha-  
 uing so often fayled, the trust hee had  
 made,) nor pawnes of his owne, hee  
 then layeth to pawne the Iewells and Or-  
 naments of *St. Edwards Shrine*; and in the  
 end, not hauing meanes to defray the  
 dyet of his Court, was enforced to breake  
 vp House, (and as *Paris* sayth) with his  
 Queene and Children, *Cum Abbatibus &  
 Prioribus satis humiliter Hospitia qua fuit &  
 prandia.*

*Claus. anno 46  
 & 47. Henry 3.*

*Claus. anno 37  
 Henry 3.*

This low ebbe which agayne the Kings  
 improvidence had brought him to, gaue  
 great assurance to the Rebellious Lords,  
 that they should now at the last, haue  
 the so veraigne power, left a prey to their  
 d *ambitious*



ambitious designes, and to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more, then to see the Kings extremitie & Constrainne a Parliament, for at such times, Princes are euer lesse then they should be, subiects more.

*Wil. de Rishanger.*

To hasten on the time, and adapt the the meanes, there are sowne certayne seditious rumours, that the Kings necessity must repayre it selfe vppon the fortunes and blessings of his people, that hauing nothing of his owne left, hee might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subiects haue meanes to supplye.

This tooke fire just to their mindes, and wrought a little moouing in the State, which doubtlesse had flamed higher, if the King had not asswaged it by Proclamations, wherein hee declared,

*Quod quidam mali uoli sinistra predicantes, illi falso suggererant illum uelle eos indobite gravari, ac iura & libertates Regni sub-*

*Simf. anno 49  
24. 3.*

*subuertere, & per suggestiones illas dolosas & omnia falsas eorum corda a sua malidictione, & fidelitate auerterent*, but desireth, that *Huiusmodi animorum suorum perturbationibus ne fidem adhiberent*, for that hee was euer ready to defend them from the oppression of the great Lords, *Et omnia iura & Consuetudines eorum debitas bonas, & Consuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius obseruare*, and that they may rest of this secure: *De voluntate sua libera, litteras suas fecit patentes*. But seeing still that Maiesty and right subsist not without meanes and power, and himselfe had of neyther, so much as would stop the present breach in his owne wants, or his subiects loyalties, hee flyeth to the bosome of his people, for reliefe and Councell.

At Oxford they met in Parliament, Parl. Oxon. where his necessity, met so many vndertifull demaunds, that he was forced to render vpto their Rebellious will, his Royall power.

Math. Paris.

Chro. Worc.

Chron. Litch.

Heere the Commons knowing that,  
*Quam eligere inceperunt*, they were *Loco*  
*libertatū*, stood with the King to haue  
the managing of the State, put to the  
care of twenty foure, whereof twelue by  
their election, (whereto they looke strictly)  
and the other by him, who in all  
things else, was left a Cypher, and in  
this, whether by feare, or remissenes, fil-  
led vp his number with *Mounford*, *Glo-*  
*cester*, and *Spencer*, which besides the  
weakening of his owne part, wonne to  
those his late opposites; an opinion of  
great interest they had got in his fauour,  
hee now hath left neyther election of  
publicke office, nor priuate attendants;  
his halfe brethren and their followers, he  
must dispoyle of all fortune, and exile by  
proscription vnder his owne hand, com-  
maunding his Writs, *Pro transportatione*  
*fratrum suorum*, to bee directed to the  
Earles of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to  
passe yther their Money, Armes, or Or-  
naments, *Nisi in forma quam dicti Com-*  
*mittes*

*mitte inuinxerent*, and after their departure  
 enjoyned the men of *Bristol*, that they Claus. anno 49  
 Hen. 3. should not permit any strangers, *Sine*  
*propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but so  
 to behaue themselves therein, that as  
 well the King, *Quam Magnates sui eos*  
*merito debeant commendare.*

Thus wee see how easily mens estates  
 doe change in a moment, and how  
 hard it is to make vse of things ill got-  
 ten.

*Richard* Elect of the Empire, the Kings  
 full Brother, and then beyond Sea; must Chron. Sancti  
 Albani. bee wrought by Letter, as his free desire  
 to confirme by Oath those former restri-  
 ctions of regall power, which though  
 performed, yet would the Lords suffer  
 neyther the one or the other, to enter  
*Dower Castle* (the Key of the Kingdome) Reg. Rossen.  
 which they had furnished, as most of  
 the other Fortes of reputation in the  
 Realme with Guardians of their owne,  
 sworn respectively to the State; and then  
 taking the like assurance of all the Shrieffes,  
 Bayliffes,

*Rot. in Scie.**Wil. de Rishanger.*

Bayliffes, Coroners, and other publicke Ministers, searching the behauour of many by strict Commission vppon oath, to winne opinion in shewe among the Vulgar, who groaned vnder their late Extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it afterprooued, by displacing the faythfull Seruants of the King, to open away, to their owne dependants.

Thus changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the State beleue, that this forme of limitted pollicy, they had vterly suppressed the minde of man, for euer dreaming more vppon the imaginary humours of lycencious Sovereignty: But it fell out nothing so, for now euery man beganne to estimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on euery desigae, that might enlarge his power and commaund.

Then beganne the great men to rent from the body of the Crownes, and regall

regall signiories, all such royall suitors as  
 neighboured any of their owne seats, Rot. Parlia in  
 Scacar, whereto they enforce their seruice, and so  
 (as the Record sayth) *Ad sectas indebitas,  
 & seruitutes intollerabiles subditos Regis  
 compulerunt*: Thus rayling meane man-  
 ners to become great Honours, and ren-  
 ting asunder the regall Iustice, they made  
 themselues of so many subiects whilst  
 they lliued in duty, *Totidem Trānni* (as the  
 Booke of Saint *Albans* sayth) when they  
 had lest their loyalty, *Magnas induxerunt*  
Rot. Regis in  
 Scaca, 56 H. 3 *Magnates Regni, super subditos Regis serui-  
 tutes & oppressiones*, which they bore pa-  
 tiently; for excesse of misery hauing no  
 ease but Custome, made men willing to  
 lay the foundation of servitude by the  
 length of sufferance, which found no  
 ease nor end, vntill the quiet of this Kings  
 Reigne.

*Mountford, Gloucester, and Dispencer,* Wallingford.  
 the Heads of this Rebellious designe,  
 hauing by the late prouisions drawne to  
 the hands of the twenty foure *Tribunes*

of the people, the entire managing of the Royall State, and finding that power too much disperced to worke the end of their desires, forst agayne the King to call a Parliament, where they deliuered ouer the authority of the twenty foure vnto themselues, and Create a *Triumvirate, non Constituenda Republica - causa*, as they first pretended, for their owne endes, and so in the interest of some priuate contented, the publicke was stayed; but to make a speedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus*: Ambition is neuer so high, but she thinkes still to mount, that station which seemed lately the toppe, is but a steppe to her now, and what before was great in desiring, seemes little, being once in power.

Wil. de Risshanger.

Chro. de Dunst.

Ordinat. inter  
Record. Lond.

These three elect nine Councillours, and appoynt *Quod tres ad minus alternatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of Castles, *et de alijs Regni negotijs*, the chiefe Iustice, Chancellour and Treasurer,

furer with all Offices, *Maiores & minores*,  
 they referue the choyce of to themselves,  
 and bind the King to this hard bargayne  
 vppon such strong security; that hee is  
 contented vnder the great Seale, and  
 Oath, to looke to them the knot of Regall  
 duty, whensoever hee assumeth to him-  
 selfe his Regall dignity, *Liceat omnibus* cbra. Origine.  
*de Regno nostro contra nos, in surgere, & ad* sub fillo.  
*grauamen nostrum opem & operam dare ac*  
*si nobis in nullo tenerentur.* This prodigy  
 of fortune on whom she had set a pittifull  
 example of her inconstancy, finding no  
 part of his Sovereignty left, but the bare  
 Title, and that at their leaue, beggeth suc-  
 cour from *Vrbane the fourth*, agaynst his  
 disloyall subiects.

The Pope by his Bulcancelleth his Oath,  
 and contract, and armeth him with Ex-  
 communications agaynst all those that  
 returne not with speede, to their due and  
 old Obedience, since promises made by  
 men, which cannot say they are at liberty,  
 are weak, and force hath no power  
 to make iust interest.



Chron. Rich.  
Wil. de Rishanger.

Chron. Britannia.

Chron. Daul.

Wil. de Rishanger.

The Lords on the other side that had  
imped their winges with Eagles feathers, and liked no game now, but what was raked out of the ashes of Monarchy; made head against their Sovereigne, and to match him the better, called in ayde, some French forces: Thus the Common-wealth turned agayne her sword into her owne bowells, and invited her ancient enemy, to the funerall of her liberty; so that it was a wonder she should not at this time passe vnder a forrayne servitude. And though these men were more truly sensible of their owne disgrace, then of others misery: Yet found they no better pretext for priuate interest then that of the publicke.

And therefore at the entry of this war, they cryed liberty, although when they came neere to an end, they neuer spake word of it.

At Lewis the Armies met, where the King endeauours a reconciliation, but in vayne, for perswasions are euer vnprofitable, when Iustice is inferiour to force.

The

The sword decides the difference, and gaue the two Kings, and their eldest Sonnes Prisoners : The person now aswel as the regall power ; thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Glocester*, found neyther bond of security, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatnesse (which now beganne to break out betweene these mighty Riuals,) gaue hope of, for *Leicester* meaning by ingrossing from his partner, to himselfe, the person of the King, and to his followers the best portion of the spoyle, to draw more fruite from this advantage, then it should in fellowship yeeld, dissolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equall Authority with the same power, is euer fatall (wee see) to all great actions : For to fit mindes to so euen a temper, that they should not haue some motions of dissenting is impossible.

*Mountford* hauing thus broken all faith with his Confederates, and duty to his Sovereigne, lest the path of moderation

so wisdom to come to the King by that  
 of pride and distrust. To him he telleth  
 that his Armes and ends had no other ob-  
 ject euer but order of the State, and ease  
 of the people, that hee did not in this,  
 carry affection against duty, but well  
 knew how to reyne his desires, to his  
 just power, and so no lesse to his Maiesties  
 content, if hee would be ruled; which  
 was to commaund the Fortes and Castles  
 of his now opposite *Glocester*, and the  
 rest into his hands. It was hard to this  
 King thus to take a Law from his inferi-  
 our, but necessity in Soueraigne affaires  
 doth often force away all formallity; and  
 therefore this poore Prince, who now  
 at the Victors discretion, seemed to haue  
 beene onely rayfed to shew the inconstan-  
 cy of fortune and vanity of man; suited  
 himselfe with incomparable wisdom, ac-  
 cording to the necessity of the time.  
 Neyther did humillity wrong Maiesty,  
 when there was no other means to con-  
 trayne spirits so insolent but dissembling.  
 He therefore summpneth in his owne per-  
 son

son the forts of his falsest friends, to yeeld  
to his greatest enemies. This hee enters  
in shew as his lodging, but in effect his  
Prison, and saw himselfe forced to arme  
against his friends, and to receiue now  
Lawe from him, to whom hee lately  
thought to giue it. Thus *Leicester* is be-  
come a darling of the common rout, who  
easily change to euery new Maister, but  
the best durst not sayle along his Fortune,  
by the light of his glory : Christall that  
fairely glistereth doth easily breake, and as  
the ascent of vsurping royalty is slippery,  
so the top is shaking, and the fall fearefull.  
To hold this man then at the entry of his  
false felicity fully happy, was but to giue  
the name of the Image, to the mettle that  
was not yet molten, for by this the im-  
prisoned Prince was escaped, and fast assu-  
red of *Glocester*, by the knot of his  
great minde, and discontent, and both  
with the torne remainder of the loyal  
Army vnited, and by speedy march ar-  
riued vnlooked for, neere *Euesham*, to the  
vnarmed

vnarmed troupes of the secure Rebels, whom they instantly assayed, for it was no fit season to giue time, when no time did assure so much, as expedition did promise.

*Dispencer* and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the best speede for mercy, but could not breake out, beeing hurried along the storme of the giddy multitude.

Publicke motions depends on the Conduct of Fortune; private on our owne carriage, we must beware of running downe steepe hills, with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere*, stoppes are not then voluntary; but *Leicester* at that instant with the King, and out of the storme might haue escaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune, so that hee could neyther forsake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making aduersity the exercise of his vertue, hee came, and fell.

The

The King by this blessed fortune freed,  
 and obeyed, began to search the ground  
 of his formet misery, and why that ver-  
 tue and fortune that had so long settled  
 and maintayned vnder his ancesters the  
 glory of his Empire, had cast her in his  
 time off, and conspired with her Enemies  
 to her almost ruine, as if the Genius of  
 the state had quite forsooke her; Here he  
 findes his wastfull hand had beene too  
 quicke both ouer the fortunes and the  
 blessings of his people, the griping Aua-  
 rice of his ciuill Ministers and lawlesse li-  
 berty of his Martiall followers, the neg-  
 lect of grace, and breach of his word, to  
 haue lost his nobility at home, and ne-  
 cessity, his Reputation abroad, by ma-  
 king Merchandize of peace, and warre  
 as his last refuge, so leauing his old Allies  
 became enforced to betake himselfe to  
 persons doubtfull, or iniured, and that  
 by giuing ouer himselfe to a sensuall secu-  
 rity and referring all to base, greedy, and  
 vnworthy Ministers, whose counsell

Rot. pat. 53.  
 H. 3. M. 51.  
 Rishanger.

were euer more subtile then substantiall,  
he had throwne downe those pillars of  
soueraignty, and safety, Reputation a-  
broade, and Reuerence at home.

To, Tuxeter,  
Mon. Bury.

Hee now therefore making sweetnesse  
and clemency the entrances of his re-  
gayned Rule for the faults of most of the  
later rebels he forgot a gracious kinde of  
pardoning not to take knowledge of of-  
fences, others he forgot, that they might  
liue but to the glory of his goodnes, for  
the fewer killed, the more remains to a-  
dorne the Trophee.

Rot. Carr. 51.  
52. H. 3.

Tyrants shed blood for pleasure Kings  
for necessity, yet least his Iustice and pow-  
er might too much suffer in his grace and  
mercy, some few hee punished by small  
fines, some by banishment, as the two  
guiltlesse yet vn pittied sons of the Arch-  
traytor. Treason so hatefull is to the  
head, that it draweth (we see in this) the  
carriage of the innocent children into an  
euerlasting suspect, and what is suspicion  
in others is guilt in them: Vpon the con-  
stant

Clau. 52. H. 3.  
M. 29.

stant followers of his broken fortunes he bestoweth, but with a more wary hand then before the forfeiture of his Enemies: Immoderate liberality he had found but a weake means to win loue, for it lost more in the gathering then it gained in the giuing. This bounty bestowed without respect, was taken without grace, discredited the receiuer and detracteth from the iudgement of the giuer, and blunted the Apperites of such, as carried their hopes out of vertue and seruice: Thus at last he learned that reward and reprehension iustly laid doe ballance gouernment, and that it much importeth a Prince the hand to bee equall that holdeth the scale. Chro. Dunit.

In himselfe hee reformed his naturall Errors, Princes manners though a mute law, haue more of life and vigour then those of letters, and though he did sometimes touch vpon the verge of vice hee forbore euer after to enter the circle.

His court where in at this time the faults

*f y.*

of



of great men did not onely by approbation, but Imitation receiue true comfort, and authority, for their crimes now became examples, and customes, hee purged very iudiciously and seuerely, since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the common state.

*Ordinar author.*

*Reg. aula.*

*Claus. 53. H. 3.*

*Rishanger.*

Expence of house he measureth by the just Rule of his proper reuenew and was heard often to say, that his excesse of wast before had beene an issue of his Subjects blood, the insolency of his Souldiers made lawlesse by the late liberties of Ciuill armes he spendeth in forraigne expedition. Hauing seene that the quiet Spirits vnderwent all the former Calamities, and the other neuer were satisfied but in the misery of Innocents, and would if they had no enemies abroad seeke out at home as they had done before.

*Pat. 53. & 54.*

*H. 3.*

*Comment. de*

*Traibison.*

The rigour and corruption of his iudiciall Officers he examineth, and redresseth by strict Commission; For the sence  
of

of their feueritie, became a murmure of his owne cruelty.

The seates of Iudgement and Councell he filled vp with men nobly borne. For such attract with lesse offence, the generous spirits to respect and reuerence. Their Abilities he measureth not by fauour or by priuate Information as before, but by publike voyce for euery man in particular may deceiue and be deceiued, but no man can deceiue all, nor all one.

And to discouer now his owne Capacity and what part he meaneth to beare hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions he sitteth himselfe in Councell dayly, and disposeth Affaires of most weight in his owne person. For Councillors be they neuer so wise or worthy are but as accessaries, not principals, in sustentation of the State; their Office must be subjection, not fellowship in considerations of moment, and to haue ability to aduise, not authority to resolute.

For as to liue the Prince must haue a particular soule so to rule his proper and interne Councell, without the one hee can neuer be truly man, without the other he shall neuer be securely a Prince, for it offendeth aswell the minister (of meritt) as the people to force obedience to one vncapable of his owne greatnesse, or vnworthy of his fortunes. This wonderfull Change to the generall State (so hopelesse lately to recouer her former libertie, they sought now for nothing but the mildest seruitude) brought them home againe with admiration to his devotion and their owne duty.

He that will lay (we see) the foundation of Greatnesse vpon popular loue, must giue them ease and Iustice, for they measure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receiue.

Barth. Coton  
Chro. Norw.

This peace attended euer after his Age and hearse and hee happily liued to fashion his sonne and successor, and to make him partner of his owne experience and

authoritie ; whose owne hard education trayning him from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beasts : framed him to affect glory, and vertue ; which made him superiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Raigne were exact grounds of Discipline , and pollicy ; for his best successour to rule by after, who as he was the first of his name since the Conquest, so was he the first that settled the law and state, deserving the Stile of *Englands Justinian*, and freed this Kingdome from the wardship of the Peeres, shewing himselfe in all his Actions after, capable to Commaund not the Realme onely, but the whole world.

Thus doe the wrongs of our Enemies more then our owne discretions, make vs sometimes both wise and fortunate.

FINIS.